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- ART. IV. — 1. *Thesaurus Hymnologicus, sive Hymnorum, Cantorum, Sequentiarum circa Annum MD. usitatarum Collectio amplissima. Carmina collegit, Apparatu critico ornavit, Veterum Interpretum Notas selectas suasque adjecit* HERM. ADALBERT. DANIEL, Ph. Dr. Tomus Primus: *Hymnos* continens. Tomus Secundus: *Sequentiæ; Cantica; Antiphonæ*. Tomus Tertius: *Delectus Carminum Ecclesiæ Græcæ*, curante REINHOLDO VORMBAUM; *Carmina Syriacæ Ecclesiæ*, curante LUDOVICO SPLIETH, Ph. Dr., etc. Tomus Quartus: *Supplementa ad Tomum Primum* continens. Halis et Lipsiæ. 1841–1855.
2. *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters, aus Handschriften herausgegeben und erklärt von* F. G. MONE, Director des Archivs zu Karlsruhe. Erster Band: *Lieder an Gott und die Engel*. Zweiter Band: *Marienlieder*. Dritter Band: *Heiligenlieder*. Freiburg im Breisgau, Herder'sche Verlagshandlung. 1854–55.
3. *Gesänge Christlicher Vorzeit. Auswahl des Vorzüglichsten, aus dem Griechischen und Lateinischen übersetzt von* C. FORTLAGE, Doctor der Philosophie. Berlin: G. Reimer. 1844.
4. *Carmina e Poetis christianis Excerpta ad Usus Scholarum edidit, et permultas Interpretationes, cum Notis Gallicis quæ ad diversa Carminum Genera, vitamque Poetarum pertinent adjecit* FELIX CLEMENT. Parisiis, apud Gaume Frates, Bibliopolas in viâ dictâ Cassette. 1854.
5. *Sacred Latin Poetry, chiefly Lyrical, selected and arranged for Use; with Notes and Introduction.* By RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH, M. A. London: John W. Parker. 1849.
6. *De Poesis Latinæ Rhythmis et Rimis præcipue Monachorum.* Libellus conscriptus per CHRIST. THEOPHIL. SCHUCH. Donaueschingæ. 1851.
7. *An Essay on the Origin, Progress, and Decline of Rhyming Latin Verse; with many Specimens.* By SIR ALEXANDER CROKE, D. C. L. and F. A. S. Oxford: D. A. Talboys. 1828.

CHRISTIAN psalmody takes its origin and finds its rudiments in the worship of the Hebrews, and may be said to

have passed over from the ritual of the Synagogue to the offices of the Church on the night when the Teacher of Galilee ate the Passover with his disciples, and instituted the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Whether the "hymn" which was sung at the conclusion of that solemn feast was one adapted to the new significance of the Passover as a Christian rite, or whether it was the usual paschal hymn, called the *Hallel*, and composed from the 113th and the five following Psalms; whether it was chanted, or "sung," as the translators of our Received Version have rendered the term in the original, — are questions which, since they depend partly on speculation and partly on historical research, have given rise to much learned and not always profitable controversy. We are informed by St. Luke, that the disciples, after the ascension of Christ, returned to Jerusalem, "and were continually in the temple, praising and blessing God." That the usual Jewish liturgy was used in these services would seem highly probable; but that the new spirit of Christianity soon released itself from the appointed forms of the temple worship is a fact certified by the earliest annals of the Church. Indeed, in the very opening of the book which records the Acts of the Apostles, we have bequeathed to us the most ancient relic of the Christian liturgical worship, when, in celebration of Peter and John's deliverance from prison, the whole company of the disciples are represented to have lifted up their voice to God with one accord, and recited that sublime hymn which, taking its key-note from the second in the Book of Psalms, begins and ends its strains of supplication and praise in the name of the "holy Child Jesus." As scholars have seen or imagined themselves to see in the purer Greek of St. Peter, as preserved in his Epistles, the traces of that miraculous inspiration which, on the day of Pentecost, imparted to the Apostles the gift of tongues, so with greater reason may this fragment of pious recitative be regarded as the immediate offspring of that divine influence which was then shed upon the Church, quickening and purifying, as with a baptism of fire, "the whole multitude of them that believed," who "were of one heart and of one soul." In undoubted allusion to this gift of poetical improvisation, as one of the "manifestations" of the

Spirit, St. Paul is found addressing the Corinthian Christians in words like these : “ When ye come together, every one of you *hath a psalm*, hath a doctrine, hath a tongue, hath a revelation, hath an interpretation ” ; and in his letters to the Ephesians and Colossians, “ psalms and hymns and spiritual songs ” are enumerated as among the services of the Church. There are not wanting those who profess to find snatches of the early sacred verse deposited in the prose of the New Testament writers. Among such fragments of song supposed to be current in the Apostolic age, and therefore quoted by the writers from “ psalms and hymns ” which have perished in the lapse of time, may be cited the following from the Epistle to the Ephesians : —

Ἐγείρε ὁ καθεύδων
Καὶ ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν,
Ἐπιφαύσει σοι ὁ Χριστός.

And the well-known hexameter line in the Epistle of St. James : —

Πᾶσα δόσις ἀγαθὴ καὶ πᾶν δῶρημα τέλειον.

To this same most ancient Christian poetry is also referred that often-repeated “ chorus ” of the Apocalypse : —

Ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸ ἄλφα καὶ τὸ ὦ,
Ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος.

And the song of Moses : —

Μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ τὰ ἔργα σου,
Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ·
Δίκαιαι καὶ ἀληθιναὶ αἱ ὁδοὶ σου,
Ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν ἐθνῶν, κ. τ. λ.

Though it is quite true, as Quintilian remarks, that metrical feet are often found in prose, and that too without any design on the part of the writer, yet it will be admitted that the excerpts we have quoted (and their number might be greatly multiplied) have in themselves a poetical coloring which favors the hypothesis of their origin in the early Christian verse. But whatever may be the reader’s judgment upon

a matter so purely speculative and conjectural, we have the authority of Eusebius and Tertullian for the assertion, that the ancient Christians not only employed in their religious services the psalms and canticles of the Old Testament, but also added to their number original hymns and songs, the natural outgoings of that pious emotion which was then most vehement when the new leaven of the Gospel was warmed by the fires of a holy enthusiasm, like that which glowed in the bosoms of confessors and martyrs. In his description of the ancient *agapæ*, Tertullian states that, at the conclusion of the meal, each participant was invited to sing, as he might be able, "either from the Holy Scriptures or from the prompting of his own spirit, a song of praise to God"; while Pliny the younger, in his well-known letter to the Emperor Trajan, reports, as a trait of the Christians in Bithynia and Pontus, that they "sang hymns to Christ, as to a god, in choral responses."*

That trite aphorism which ascribes to the ballads of a people a greater influence than to their laws, would seem to find an illustration in the religious no less than in the political world. As early as during the second century after Christ, the songs of the Church had become a popular vehicle for the transmission and diffusion of the faith. Bardesanes of Edessa, who was contemporary with the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, and Paul, Bishop of Samosata, who found a patroness in Queen Zenobia, did but avail themselves of what was seen to be a powerful lever in the Church, when they thus early pressed sacred music into the service of their peculiar opinions, just as, in the era of the Reformation, the six thousand hymns of Hans Sachs exerted an influence which was co-operative, if not commensurate, with the sermons of Luther and the epistles of Melancthon.

Church psalmody received, however, in the East, its highest culture and its greatest impulse from the poetical labors of St. Ephrem Syrus, whose voluminous writings in prose and verse the Vatican press has published in such a splendid edition. For his skill in versification, and for the melody of his

* "Carmen Christo, quasi deo, dicere, secum invicem." — Plin. Epist. X. 97.

sacred songs, St. Ephrem has been called "the sweet singer of Syria, and the lyre of the Holy Ghost"; as for the ingenuity and acuteness of his polemical disquisitions, he is styled by Chrysostom "the Church's javelin against the heretics." In the third volume of Dr. Daniel's *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, the reader will find a selection from the hymns of St. Ephrem in the original Syriac, accompanied by a German translation, the work of Lewis Splieth, a distinguished Oriental scholar of Germany. If the translator has faithfully represented the manner, and reproduced the spirit, of these ancient relics of Christian song, the German reader will not find it difficult to acquiesce in all that has been said in praise of St. Ephrem's inspiration. His hymns were spread throughout the East during the third century, and are said to have first incited the Grecian Christians to the invocation of the sacred Muse. Joseph Melodes, Andreas Cretensis, Joannes Damascenus, and their imitators, are thought by some critics to have caught their poetic fire from the kindling influence of St. Ephrem, the Syrian.

As early, however, as the third century, the Christian lyre was struck among the Greeks by Clemens Alexandrinus, who was followed by Gregory Nazianzen, Theodosius the Martyr, Euthymius, Sophronius, and others, whose songs, if not always their names, have descended even to the present day. The earliest sacred poem in the Greek language, from a known writer whose works have been preserved to us, is a hymn addressed to "Christ the Redeemer," by Clement of Alexandria, found at the close of his *Παιδαγωγός*, and occupying the first place in Dr. Daniel's anthology of Grecian hymns.

The sacred poetry of the Greeks, copious and beautiful as it is, forms no part of our subject-matter in the present paper, and will therefore receive no notice at our hands, save that which may seem essential by way of introduction to the Latin verse whose strains it preluded, and, in so many cases, inspired and prompted. A study and appreciation of the spirit which animated and informed the sacred poetic art of the Greeks will serve, from its contrasted beauties and excellences, only the more fully to reveal what is most characteristic and distinctive in that of the Western Church.

We shall find, on examination, that the hymns of the Greek and Latin Churches reflect in the clearest outlines the national features of their respective members, as well as the peculiar theological tendencies so early developed in these two great branches of ancient Christendom. As the poetical temperament more than any other is characterized by sensibility, we might naturally expect the cadences of popular verse to mark, as with a nilometer, the ebb and flow of those great tidal waves which have stirred from age to age the bosom of humanity. And if it be true, as we think, that the consciousness of a nation or an age mirrors itself most clearly in the waters of its Helicon, it is no less true that the inner life of a church pours forth its strongest pulsations from the well-heads of its poetical inspiration, issuing, as it were, from the Geyser fountains of the soul. The "diversities of gifts" in the Greek and Latin Churches are thus exhibited in their poetry, as well as in their dogmatic theology; the angles of thought marked by the rigid lines of a speculative and disputatious Christianity are subtended also by a lyrical development, which enables us to measure equally the divergent creeds and the inner consciousness of the Eastern and Western branches of the Church.

The civilization of a people being, as Bunsen expresses it, "the natural result of an outwardly growing union of the individual spirit with the national and social life," we are not surprised to find that Christian doctrine, as apprehended by its confessors among the Greeks and Romans, soon came to represent, in its developments and modifications, the distinctive characteristics of the civilization with which it came in contact. Hence Neander, in reviewing the doctrinal controversies of the early Christian ages, does but generalize an historical truth universally admitted, when he states that the Greek mobility of intellect and speculative direction of thought predominated in the Eastern Church, while in the Western the more rigid and calm, the less excitable but more practical tendency of the Roman mind prevailed. If Origen, in his fondness for speculative subtilties and his imaginative exegesis of the Scriptures, may in some sense be regarded as a type of the former, St. Augustine, by his profound and

sometimes sombre anatomy of the human heart and consciousness, with their relations to the doctrines of grace and redemption, may be considered as the most illustrious embodiment of that dogmatic theology which predominated in the latter or Western Church. And so, too, in the domain of poetry, if Clement of Alexandria, Methodius the Martyr, and, above all, Synesius of Cyrene, psalmists of the Greek Church, delight to indulge in the imagery of that Christian Neo-Platonism which flourished in the schools of Alexandria, and in whose principles Synesius, we may add, was instructed by the fair Hypatia, we find, on the other hand, that St. Ambrose, Hilary of Poitiers, Prudentius, and others, poets of the Latin Church, are chiefly remarkable for a certain pith and sententiousness of expression, as well as for a subdued contrition of heart germane to that severer theology and monastic piety which, if Augustine was its founder and most illustrious exemplar, attained its full and rotund development in the scholastic philosophy of the Middle Age.

The sacred Grecian poetry possesses also, in its general spirit, a greater lyrical elevation than the Latin, a superiority which it shares equally with the songs of the classic age in Greece as compared with those of the corresponding age in ancient Rome, and which, with regard to the latter, extorted from Quintilian the confession, that, of the lyrical poets in the Latin tongue, Horace alone was worth reading. The sacred poetry of the Western Church, oftener than that of the Eastern, has for its burden the sighs and confessions of penitence, as though the psalm of its spiritual life were set by the "still sad music of humanity." If the notes of jubilant praise and the shouts of rejoicing which still soar to heaven in the sublime canticles of the "Gloria in excelsis," and the "Te Deum laudamus," may seem an exception to this remark, it will perhaps be sufficient to refer the reader to the annotations of Dr. Daniel, in which the Eastern origin of these heirlooms of Christian antiquity is placed, as it seems to us, beyond successful controversy. Exceptions, however, there are to this general observation, as indeed there must be in all generalizations based on national character. Thus Gregory Nazianzen, writing a *θρηνητικόν* on his own soul, utters the low,

moaning cry of a heart withered and smitten like grass; and if the general tenor of the sacred Latin poetry is attuned to a plaintive strain, we yet behold the fire of a more than Spanish enthusiasm often shooting into a leaping flame in the verse of Prudentius.

Augustine informs us in his "Confessions," that psalmody, as an institute of Christian worship, was not of ancient origin in the Western Church, dating no farther back than a year before his baptism by Ambrose in the church at Milan. The occasion of its introduction in the West is stated by Augustine to have been as follows. The Empress Justina, mother of the young Emperor Valentinian, having espoused the cause of the Arians, signalized her zeal by the persecution of Ambrose, who, as the leader of the opposite party in the Church, was most obnoxious to her hatred. The flock of the good bishop, however, did not desert him in his adversity, but took refuge with him in the basilica, all animated, says Augustine, with a holy zeal, and ready to die by his side. "Then it was," he adds, "that hymns and psalms first began to be sung, (after the manner of the East,) lest through the tedium and weariness of their confinement the spirit of the people might droop."

It would seem difficult to accept this statement in the generality which its terms naturally import; for that the Western churches, until the day of Ambrose, should have excluded all psalmody from their public worship must be deemed improbable in itself considered, and is moreover in contradiction with the well-authenticated facts of contemporaneous Church history. Perhaps the subsequent history of hymnology may throw some light upon this topic, and afford us a hint by which to limit the application and extent of Augustine's assertion.

The annals of the Church disclose to us the fact, that what were called "original hymns" encountered for a time the most determined opposition on the part of many among the faithful. It was contended that such poetical productions, partaking as they necessarily must of the individual sentiments of their writers, might degenerate into a source of mischief to the purity of the Apostolic faith. The examples

of Bardesanes and Paul of Samosata, who, it was alleged, had by their "spiritual songs" undermined sound doctrine as contained in the Sacred Scriptures, were frequently cited in illustration of the dangers attendant on the toleration in the Church of any other sacred poetry than that of the Book of Psalms, or the short doxologies composed of verses from the inspired volume. These had been used, it would seem, from the earliest times; for they are adduced as in contrast with the new hymns of Ambrose and Hilary, whose introduction into the offices of the Church was in certain quarters strenuously resisted as an unauthorized and perilous innovation. When, therefore, Augustine speaks of the "psalms and hymns" which, "according to the usage of the East," were introduced into the church at Milan, and thence spread throughout nearly all the congregations of the Western world, he may be understood to allude only to such original psalms and hymns as had been made popular in the East by the sacred poets of Syria and Greece. The Psalms of the Old Testament were the common heritage of the Church, and it seems difficult to believe that none of them had been translated into Latin or adopted in the offices of the Church before the day of Ambrose. Still, the testimony of Augustine is explicit to this effect, unless we resort to what must be admitted an interpretation not the most apparent from the text itself, though not without plausibility if the facts of the later Church history be taken into consideration. For we scarcely need add, that this dispute respecting the admissibility of original hymns and songs into the liturgy of the Church extended into the sixth and seventh centuries, and has been revived again and again at later periods.* The first council of Braga, held in the year

* Not to recur to the controversies on this subject in the Scottish Kirk, we may recall the fact, that Christians in our own country have not been exempt from contention on this topic. In the recently published life of that distinguished divine, the late Dr. John M. Mason, we find one of his correspondents groaning over "three bones of contention which had been often picked before," but were not yet laid aside. These were:—1. "Is it lawful to omit the observance of a fast preparatory to the Lord's Supper?" 2. "Is it Scriptural to extend Christian fellowship beyond the limits of our own Church?" 3. "*Is it right to use any other than a literal version of David's psalms in public praise to God?*" In the conscientious scruples which demanded a most literal version of the Psalms will be found perhaps a char-

561 A. D., directed that, besides the Psalms or other portions of the canonical Scriptures, no poetical composition should be sung in the Church, — a decision afterward rescinded by the fourth council of Toledo, in the year 633, by which the hymns of Ambrose and Hilary were placed on the same footing in the divine service with such prayers and other liturgical formularies of human composition as had been already admitted into the ritual of the Western Church.

As a branch of this same controversy, the dispute concerning the introduction of heathen tunes and measures in the music of the Church prevailed through several centuries. Already had Jerome sought to rebuke a growing tendency in his day to what we now call “secular effects,” which, we may infer from his instructions to those “whose office it was to sing in church,” had thus early foisted themselves into the choral services of the Church. “We are not,” he says, “like comedians, to soothe the throat with sweet drinks, in order that we may hear theatrical songs and melodies in the Church; but the fear of God, piety, and the knowledge of the Scriptures should inspire our songs; so that the evil spirit which entered into the heart of Saul may be expelled from those who are in like manner possessed by him, rather than invited by those who would turn the house of God into a heathen theatre.” Thus early, it would seem, were there those who sought to introduce into the psalmody of Christianity the popular melodies of heathendom, if not those actually allied to the old ethnic worship with its “gay religions full of pomp and gold”; and that such “secular effects” have not even yet been expelled from the choir will be credited by many who have “attended worship” in our modern “fashionable churches,” where, through “long-drawn aisle and fretted

itable explanation of the fact that Sternhold and Hopkins are oftentimes more literal than poetical in their translation of the Hebrew melodies. Indeed, we learn from a letter of Dr. Mason’s, found in the same volume, that the sensitiveness of certain minds on this point extended not only to literal versions of David’s psalms, but also to other minuter questions of Hebrew liturgical worship; for he writes of a good old Kentucky lady who, when two lines of a hymn were given out at once by the clergyman to be sung by the congregation, incontinently arose and declared that she would “have no such doings there,” and would tolerate “none but David’s psalms, David’s tunes, and David’s *way of lining*.”

vault," a pealing symphony has been known to resound, which to the practised ear of the dilettante has seemed more like echoes from the opera-house than native melodies of the Christian temple.

From the tunes of the Church to its poetical measures the transition is natural and easy. If the intrusion in the former of airs that were redolent only of heathenism formed a subject of regret to pious minds in both the Eastern and Western Churches, we might without examination be led to infer, as many students of hymnology seem to have done, that a pious aversion for the metres of the heathen poetry was the principal, if not the sole, motive of those changes which the classical scansion of the Latin language underwent in the hands of the sacred Latin poets. An exhaustive treatment of this subject would greatly transcend the limits within which we must confine its proportionate space in the present paper, involving, as the question does, a partly historical and partly philosophical appreciation of those causes from without and within, which during the Middle Age wrought, along with the corruption of the Latin tongue, the gradual disintegration of the classical prosody, and laid the foundations of that accentual and rhyming Latin verse which reached its highest development and proved its fullest capabilities in the hands of the monastic poets of France and Italy during the twelfth century.

In the works of Croke and Schuch, whose titles we have placed at the head of this article, the reader will find but an inadequate treatment of this interesting subject, the information they afford serving rather to pique than to gratify the curiosity of the inquisitive student. Sir Alexander does not seem to have brought to his scholarly diversions — for as such his treatise must be classed — any very considerable measure of that critical acumen for which he was distinguished in the study and administration of the law. He is often inaccurate in his dates, mistaken in his quotations, and uncritical in his literary judgments. The monograph of Schuch illustrates all the merits and all the defects of a German *Gelehrte*. Copious in the details of the subject, it is jejune in its comments, and is marked by the almost total absence of any me-

thodical or systematic treatment of the general theme which gives title to the essay. The reader will find, we think, in the observations and critical comments of Dr. Mone, as scattered throughout his volume, nearly all that is of scholarly value in the works of Croke or Schuch on this specialty of literary and historical inquiry.

We have much reason for believing that the true theory of the classical prosody is only partially comprehended, and the secret of its harmony but inadequately appreciated, at the present day. As pedagogy can by no dint of laborious drilling in longs and shorts succeed in reproducing hexameters as classical in their structure and Latinity as those of Virgil or Ovid, so no perspicacity of modern pedants, though Scaligers or Bentleys in their classic lore, can fully enter into or explain the nature and essence of a versification, which is known to have charmed the ears, and stirred like a trumpet the hearts, of the ancient Greeks and Romans. With the lost art has vanished, if not the sense of its loss, at least the knowledge of its rational significance and value as an attribute of poetry. If any one has doubts on this point, let him gather and collate the opinions which have been propounded on the subject by all the critics and all the commentators, and he will find that such opinions are little better than a confused mass of "*Adversaria*," even when they are not expressly uttered (as is sometimes the case) under this name and title.*

The prosodical system of the earlier Greeks and Romans, founded as it was on a full-orbed pronunciation of each word in accordance with certain harmonic relations of the various syllables as determined by their several quantities, appears to have been the product of that wonderful *Sprachsinn* [faculty for speech], as Wilhelm von Humboldt calls it, which, especially as it existed among the former, (for among the Romans the temporal prosody was a superfætation rather than a natural outgrowth of the Latin tongue,) may be deemed to have sprung in a measure from the play of delicate and cultivated organs of speech in a genial climate, and an atmos-

* The reader is referred for abundant confirmation of this remark to Hawkins's "Inquiry," Lindemann *De Prosodia Plauti*, Bentley's *Emendationes*, and similar labors of the *grammatici*.

phere still remarkable for its acoustic properties, though breathed by "living Greece no more." But as in all mental phenomena the outward development implies the inward *nisus naturae*, and as all true living art is but the concrete form of some spiritual faculty of which no ultimate analysis can discover the secret of its spontaneous activity, so the poetic art of the ancients plants its roots deep from our sight in the spiritual life and sensibility of a people "feelingly alive to each fine impulse."

Hence Wilhelm von Humboldt has not hesitated to say,* that mere syllabic measures, like those of the hexameter, afford to him, in their "linked sweetness long drawn out," a clearer evidence of the subtile and profound sense for speech (*Sprachsinn*) possessed by the ancients, than he finds in the poetry itself (abstracted from the metres) which they have left as the monuments of their genius; a sentiment which can hardly fail to recall to the poetical reader the line of Schiller,

"In der Dichtkunst allein macht das Gefäss den Gehalt."

But, whatever may be our theory respecting the genesis and harmonic principles of the metrical versification, it cannot be disputed that its measures were not native and indigenous products of the old Ausonian soil. They were first planted in ancient Italy when captive Greece led her rude victor captive and introduced the arts into rustic Latium.

"Sic horridus ille
Defluxit numerus Saturnius, et grave virus
Munditiæ pepulere; sed in longum tamen ævum
Manserunt hodieque manent vestigia ruris."

And that the "rough saturnian numbers," among their other "vestigia ruris," possessed both accentual rhythm and sometimes rhyme, is sufficiently indicated in the few fragments of this ancient verse which have descended to us in the writings of Cicero. The following examples are familiar to every reader:—

"Cælum nitescere, arbores florescere,
Vites lætiferae pampinis pubescere,
Rami baccarum ubertate in curvescere," &c.

Tusc. Disp. I. 28.

* See his treatise *Ueber die Buchstabenschrift und ihren Zusammenhang mit dem Sprache*. — *Gesammelte Werke*. Berlin. 1848.

And again : —

“ Haec omnia vidi inflammari,
Priamo vi vitam evitari,
Jovis aram sanguine turpari.” — *Tusc. Disp.* I. 35.

In such Saturnian numbers, in the convivial songs which formed those “lays of ancient Rome” whose loss Cicero regretted, in the hymns of the Sali (*axamenta*), in the Atellan farces, in the Fescennine verses of the peasantry, and in the refrains of the Roman mob shouting around the victor’s car as it moved along the *Via Sacra*, we must look for the traces of that popular poetry which the Fauns and bards sang of yore in Latium, before as yet any one had been found to scale those “rocks of the Muses,” the peaks of Parnassus.* The Camenæ took their flight at the death of Nævius, and in the prosody of Plautus and Terence we witness the gradual superposition of the Grecian poetical metres upon the Latin language, yet so that many vestiges of the old rusticity still remain to puzzle the critic who will see in it naught but the rules of classical scansion. In the poets of the Augustine age the transition was complete, yet, as Macaulay has said, “while Virgil, in hexameters of exquisite modulation, was describing the sports of rustics, those rustics were still singing their wild Saturnian ballads” in the harvest-field and the vineyard, and at the uncouth merry-makings of the country wedding.† Accent and rhyme were displaced by the metrical scansion in the language of literature and polite culture, yet, either through accident or the old instinct bringing back old forms, the poetical purists of the Augustine age sometimes lapsed into a rhyming versification. Take, for instance, the following lines from Horace, which are positively in the monkish Leonine style of the Middle Age : —

“ Nox erat, et coelo — fulgebat luna sereno
Inter minora sidera.
Cum tu, magnorum — numen laesura deorum
In verba jurabas mea.”

* “ Quid ? Nostri veteres versus ubi sunt ?

‘ Quos olim Fauni, vatesque canebant,
Cum neque Musarum scopulos quisquam superarat,
Nec dicti studiosus erat.’ — Cic. in *Bruto*, XVIII.

† Cf. Lucretius, V. 1391 et seq.

Or the following verse from Virgil's eighth Eclogue: —

“ Limus ut hic durescit — et haec ut cera liquescit.”

Or this from Ovid: —

“ Quot coelum stellas — tot habet tua Roma puellas.”

Of rhyming hexameters these poets, we need not add, present numerous examples, which will recur to every classical reader who is curious in detecting such accidental or designed coincidences.

We are warranted, therefore, in saying, that the presence of rhyme in the sacred Latin poetry is to be regarded rather in the light of a *renaissance* than of a new creation. It out-cropped once more so soon as the extrinsic causes which had displaced it were removed. Accent and rhyme, as they had been banished from the language of literature by the Grecian versification, were reintroduced *pari passu* with that disintegration of the metrical prosody which was gradually effected in the tongue of Cicero and Virgil. Foremost among the causes which brought about, or at least accelerated, this disintegration, must be placed the barbarian irruptions and popular migrations, which in the early centuries of the Christian era began to subvert the peace and disturb the social life of the Roman empire. The mixture of alien dialects with the Latin broke up its homogeneous structure, and jangled the syllabic measures which, as they had been moulded, so could be preserved, only by the rigid and artificial standard of a polite pronunciation founded on the metrical prosody. This polite pronunciation was soon merged in a chaos of barbarian sounds, and under these conditions it was that the Latin language passed into that *lingua rustica* which prevailed throughout Europe before the modern Romanian tongues had crystallized around their several national centres. So true is this, that Mone fancies himself to see an allusion to these chaotic convulsions in the following stanza of a Latin vesper hymn, which is assigned to the fifth century: —

“ Mane junctum vesperi
Diem vocari praecipis;
Tetrum chaos inlabitur,
Audi preces cum fletibus.”

Mone, Vol. I. p. 83. Cf. Dan., Vol. IV. p. 49.

We can trace from step to step, in the mediæval hymns, the gradual elimination of metre and the introduction of accent, the transition to which latter seems, with slight exceptions, to have been synchronous and parallel with the development of rhyme. Guest, in his valuable work on "English Rhythms," has truly remarked, as indeed the elder grammarians had remarked before him, that rhyme is the time-beater of accentual verse. "It marks and defines the accent, and thereby strengthens and supports the rhythm. Its advantages have been felt so strongly, that no people have ever adopted an accentual rhythm without also adopting rhyme."

The rhymes of the sacred Latin poetry were at first mere vowel assonances, in which the terminal consonant was often disregarded, a license growing, we may suppose, out of the corrupt pronunciation of the *lingua rustica*, in which the terminal consonants were sometimes indistinctly slurred or wholly silent. Commodianus, who is assigned by Dodwell to the third century after Christ, and who certainly did not live later than the fourth, closes his "Instructiones" with an acrostic of twenty-six lines, each of which terminates in the same vowel assonance. In the hymn "Aeternus orbis conditor," which belongs to the fifth century, and observes quite strictly the classical prosody, we have such rhymes as this:—

"Sedes Canopi proximas
Fuga salubri visitans," —

in which the vowel-sounds are alone regarded, the consonants being absorbed or suppressed by them. Any attempt, such as is made by Clément in the work whose title we have cited at the head of this article, to reduce the hymns of the Middle Age to the metres of the classical period, must prove illusory and abortive; and we concur with Mone in the opinion, that the sacred Latin poetry from the fifth to the ninth or tenth century is to be judged neither by the rigorous application nor by the total renunciation of the metrical prosody. Nothing but the most Procrustean criticism can torture it into a rigid and unvarying conformity with the classical *gradus*.

After the seventh century the tendency to accentual rhythm and rhyme became more and more decided. The argument

of Trench, that the transition was hastened by a Christian antipathy to the classical metres, which, having been married in immortal verse to the heathen mythology, could not, he thinks, but have been regarded by the early disciples with pious aversion and disgust, however plausible in theory, does not seem to be sustained by the facts of history; for if any such feeling had been operative, we should naturally expect it to have most visibly declared itself when the abominations of heathenism were freshest in the memory of the Church, and the earliest hymns of the sacred Muse would have been the first to emancipate themselves from such alleged profane associations of idolatrous worship. Such, however, is not the case. Hilary of Poitiers and St. Ambrose, the morning stars of Christian song, both observe quite strictly the regular classical iambic dimeter, without any scruples because of its heathen surroundings; and the pious Prudentius, in the very opening of his *Hymni Peristephanon*, declares, quite in the face of this theory, —

“ Nos citos *jambicos*
Sacramus et *rotatiles trochaeos*.”

In still further confirmation of this view may be adduced the *Centones Virgiliani*, which, as is known, were popular among the early Christians, who seem to have had no prejudice against the hexameter, but rather forced its *disjecta membra* to do involuntary service to Christianity. From one of these Centos, attributed to Proba Falconia, a Roman lady of the fourth century, Clément gives the following specimen of scraps from Virgil “on the Birth of Christ.” We quote only the opening lines.

“ Attulit et nobis aliquando optantibus aetas
 Auxilium adventumque Dei : quum femina primum
 Virginis os habitumque gerens, (mirabile dictu !)
 Nec generis nostri puerum nec sanguinis edit.
 Seraque terrifici cecinerunt omina vates,
 Adventare virum populis terrisque superbum,
 Semine ab aethereo, qui viribus occupet orbem,
 Imperium oceano, famam qui terminet astris.”

But, to return from this digression, besides the social con-

vulsions and the confusion of tongues consequent on the irruption of the barbarian hordes into Southern Europe, the mental habitudes of the early Christian writers afford us still other explanations of that tendency to accent and rhyme which so early betrayed itself in the sacred Latin poetry. St. Augustine, in his "Retractiones," informs us that he composed his Latin psalm against the Donatists to be sung by the people, and that, with the view of accommodating it to the common mind, he discarded the classical prosody, because he did not desire that any metrical necessity should constrain the use of words which, having been set apart from the rest of the language, and consecrated to classical poetry, would be unfamiliar to the general ear. How greatly this metrical necessity restricted the classical Latin poet, may be inferred from a statement made by Mr. Trench, that one word out of every eight in the Latin language which it might otherwise be desirable to use, is, by the rules of prosody, excluded from the chief metres. In order still further to fix this "*Psalmus contra partem Donati*" in the minds of the people, Augustine constructed it so that each additional stanza should open with a successive letter of the alphabet ("*tales hymnos abc-darios appellant*"), and, as a device to aid the memory, the same vowel assonance is found at the close of every line. When we remember, moreover, that such psalms and hymns were composed to be sung in the great congregation, it is easy to perceive how naturally rhyme would have been seized upon as the handmaid of memory when hymn-books, though not unknown, as Dr. Mone has shown, were yet a rare possession, found only in the hands of the clergy and choristers. And when we consider that the early Christians were gathered chiefly from among the common people, to whom the classical prosody had always remained "a something unknown," we can readily accord with Mr. Trench in ascribing to this fact a prominent part in breaking down, among Christian worshippers, the arbitrary exactions of classical versification.

Another mental trait of the early Christian writers — their fondness for antithesis, epigrammatic point, and jingling combinations even in prose — doubtless contributed to strengthen the growing tendency to rhyme, which was, in truth, nothing

more than this same trait methodized and intensified. Every reader of patristic theology is familiar with this idiosyncrasy, which often exists in writers the most remarkable for their diffuseness. Hence such sentences as this in the writings of Augustine, concerning the two Testaments: "*In Novo patet quod in Vetere latet.*" Indeed, the abundance of such antitheses in the writings of the great Bishop of Hippo, made it a comparatively easy task for Prosper of Aquitaine, the Quarles of his day, to compose the one hundred and twelve epigrams which he versified from the prose of that Father; and it was, perhaps, a reminiscence of the very passage from Augustine to which we have alluded, that inspired Adam of St. Victor when he wrote, —

"In Scripturis sub figuris,
Ista latent sed jam patent
Crucis beneficia:
Reges credunt, hostes cedunt,
Sola cruce, Christo duce,
Unus fugat millia."

During the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, the tendency to rhyme becomes more and more strongly marked in the Latin verse, until in France and Italy, during the twelfth century, it reached its culmination in couplets terminating in uniform rhymes of one, two, and often three syllables. Then, too, it was that the "strenuous idleness" of the cloister began to expend itself in feats of rhyming skill, in which the ingenuity, if not the genius, of the verse-maker seems to have been exhausted: —

"Quos anguis dirus tristi mulcedine pavit,
Hos sanguis mirus Christi dulcedine lavit."

Leonine couplets, also, now began to abound in every variety of rhyming cæsura; nor were they restricted to sacred poetry. The following examples will, perhaps, suffice to illustrate the most common forms of this popular verse: —

"Linquens terrenas — migravit dux ad amoenas
Rogerius sedes, — nam coeli detinet aedes."
"O Valachi, — vestri stomachi — sunt amphora Bacchi,
Vos estis — Deus est testis — teterrima pestis."

“O miseratrix, — O dominatrix, — praecepe dictu
Ne devastemur — ne lapidemur — grandinis ictu.”

“Cellula mellis — fundis ardorem — virgo serena,
Nescia fellis — cui dat honorem — nostra Camena.”

Poetical puzzle-readings, like the following, were also conceived and planned by the “studious monks” : —

“Arbore sub qua-	} dam	{ dictavit clericus A-	} dam.”
Quod primus A-		{ peccavit in arbore qua-	
Sed postremus A-		{ natus de virgine qua-	
Damna prioris A-		{ reparavit in arbore qua-	
Si non primus A-		{ peccasset in arbore qua-	
Non postremus A-		{ moreretur in arbore qua-	

But without bestowing upon such monastic *tours de force* in poetical art an attention to which they are hardly entitled, we proceed to quote at length, as an illustration of the wonderful perfection to which the rhyming Latin was brought, one of the hymns left us by that most copious and consummate master in versification, Adam of St. Victor. France was the great seat of sacred Latin poetry in the twelfth century, Hildebert, the two Bernards, Marbod of Angers, Peter the Venerable, and last, but greatest, Adam of St. Victor, being its principal votaries. The last named not only surpassed all his contemporaries, but may be said to have illustrated the highest rhyming capability of the Latin tongue. In place, moreover, of the often dry, if sometimes terse, simplicity which had previously characterized the Christian verse of the Western Church, Adam of St. Victor introduced into sacred Latin poetry a more ornate and richer style, though not infrequently, as his admirers will admit, his verse, like the cloak of Helen, “signis auroque rigentem,” is stiff from the very superabundance of its imagery and ornamentation. The hymn we quote, however, deserves to be quoted for other and higher reasons than its exquisite versification.

“DE FESTIVITATE PENTECOSTES.

“Qui procedis ab utroque,
Genitore genitoque
Pariter, Paraclite,
Redde linguas eloquentes,
Fac ferventes in te mentes
Flamma tua divite.

“Amor patris filiique,
Par amborum et utriusque
Compar et consimilis;
Cuncta reples, cuncta foves,
Astra regis, coelum moves,
Permanens immobilis.

“Lumen clarum, lumen carum,
Internarum tenebrarum
Effugas caliginem.
Per te mundi sunt mundati ;
Tu peccatum et peccati
Destruiis rubiginem.

“Veritatem notam facis,
Et ostendis viam pacis
Et iter justitiæ.
Perversorum corda vitas,
Et bonorum corda ditas
Munere scientiæ.

“Te docente nil obscurum,
Te præsente nil impurum ;
Sub tua præsentiâ
Gloriatur mens jucunda,
Per te laeta, per te munda
Gaudet conscientia.

“Tu commutas elementa,
Per te suam sacramenta
Habent efficaciam :
Tu nocivam vim repellis,
Tu confutas et refellis
Hostium nequitiam.

“Quando venis, corda lenis,
Quando subis, atræ nubis
Effugit obscuritas.
Sacer ignis, pectus ignis
Non comburis, sed a curis
Purgas, quando visitas.

“Mentes prius imperitas
Et sopitas et oblitâs
Erudis et excitas.

Foves linguas, formas sonum,
Cor ad bonum facit pronum
A te data caritas.

“O juvamen oppressorum,
O solamen miserorum,
Pauperum refugium,
Da contemptum terrenorum,
Ad amorem supernorum
Trahe desiderium.
Pelle mala, terge sordes,
Et discordes fac concordâs,
Et affer præsidiûm.

“Tu qui quondam visitasti,
Docuisti, confortasti
Timentes discipulos,
Visitare nos digneris,
Nos, si placet, consoleris
Et credentes populos.

“Par majestas personarum,
Par potestas est earum,
Et communis deitas :
Tu procedens a duobus,
Coequalis es duobus,
In nullo disparitas.

“Quia tantus es et talis,
Quantus pater est et qualis,
Servorum humilitas
Deo patri filioque
Redemptori, tibi quoque
Laudes reddat debitas.”

To pass from this branch of our general subject to a consideration of its other phases, as presented in the works which we have chosen as the basis of our remarks, we may premise, in the first place, that it will form no part of our purpose to enter into any critical examination of either the merits or defects of the particular volumes we have cited. For the reader who would desire to trace the Christian hymnology of

the Middle Age in its widest domains, extending from Armenia to Portugal, and covering a tract of time embraced between the third and the sixteenth centuries, the *Thesaurus* of Dr. Daniel possesses advantages over any other work in its department with which we are acquainted. Nor can the immense services which he has rendered to this once neglected branch of literature be overlooked by any lover of the old Christian poesy. As he truly recites, in the "Prolegomena" to his fourth volume, recently issued in Germany, when he first commenced the publication of his collections, at a period no earlier than fifteen years ago, the taste for this species of sacred poetry was circumscribed within narrow boundaries and confessed by few, whereas now its diffusion is as wide as the love of letters, and its culture and gratification have engaged the attention of scholars among the most enlightened and accomplished of the present day.

The collection of Dr. Mone is more copious than that of Daniel, and possesses also the additional advantage of being carefully edited from manuscript copies of the hymns, as still preserved in the libraries and monasteries of Europe. The three volumes of Dr. Mone comprise 1,215 hymns, of which 320 are devoted to God and angels, 301 to the Virgin Mary, and 594 to all the saints in the calendar. Already known and most favorably known by his previous labors in kindred studies of literary and ecclesiastical history, Dr. Mone has undoubtedly added to his well-earned reputation by the scholarly work before us, notwithstanding a certain harshness in his censorial judgments on the labors of others, and a spirit of over-refinement in some of his own criticisms on the hymns themselves; to both of which blemishes Dr. Daniel, in his fourth volume, has frequent occasion to make allusion, partly in self-defence and partly by way of just retaliation. The rule which Mone has prescribed to himself in the execution of his task, to admit no hymn into his collections for which he could not find a reliable manuscript copy, has, we need scarcely say, necessitated the exclusion from his work of some among the choicest of the sacred Latin hymns, as well as of some, it would seem, among the most popular and common, which it is difficult to conceive how he could have failed

to find in manuscript if he had searched in the proper quarters. We need only designate such well-known hymns as the following, to indicate the omissions which, it is to be regretted, detract from the completeness of Dr. Mone's compilations: "Aeterne rerum conditor"; "Somno reffectis artubus"; "O lux beata Trinitas"; "Te lucis ante terminum"; "Aurora jam spargit polum"; "A solis ortus cardine"; "Rex Christe, factor omnium"; "Ave maris stella"; "Salvete flores martyrum"; "Ut queant laxis resonare fibris";* etc. The work of Dr. Mone, we need not add for the information of those acquainted with his earlier productions, is a labor of love on his part, no less as a polite scholar than as a zealous votary and defender of the Roman Catholic faith.

We have cited the works of Fortlage and Trench as representatives of their class in the department to which they both belong, the former being useful for its historico-literary memoranda, and the latter for its appreciative criticisms and scholarly annotations; while the volume of M. Clément, an officer in the *Ministère de l'Instruction publique et des Cultes* in France under the present Emperor, if not possessing in itself any great value for its contributions either to the literary history of hymnology or to its products, is at least interesting for the evidence it affords that, in the reviving taste for these relics of ancient song, they are designed to form hereafter in France a part of the curriculum of the classical grammar schools, as, many years ago, a similar anthology from the sacred Latin poets was published by Kehrein for use in the gymnasia of Germany.

The works we have named, either at the head of our paper or in connection with its theme, will suffice, perhaps, to illustrate the present status of hymnological study and research in England and on the Continent, though we are very far from having exhausted the bibliography of our subject even for the

* With this last-named hymn, the production of Paulus Diaconus, who flourished in the eighth century, is connected the interesting fact, that Guido of Arezzo, an Italian music-teacher of the eleventh century, derived from the initial syllable of each half-verse in its first stanza the names of the musical notes in his diatonic scale:—

"Ut queant laxis	Resonare fibris
Mira gestorum	Famuli tuorum;
Solve polluti	Labii reatum."

period, little longer than a decade, within which we have restricted our citation of authorities.

Where the field is so wide in point of space and time, and the contributors so various in point of character, the difficulty of forming any sound generalizations to embrace and co-ordinate the multiplied and multiform facts of the Latin hymnology can be readily appreciated by every mind. When it is remembered that every nation of Western Europe contributes to its treasures, and that the authorship of comparatively few among the Latin hymns can now be ascertained, leaving us to depend upon nothing better than tradition with regard even to many which are popularly ascribed to particular writers, but which perhaps, if more strictly considered, would deserve to be entitled anonymous, every reader is at once prepared to admit that any treatment of the mediæval hymnology in connection with its authors must be founded rather on conjecture than on historical certitude. St. Ambrose is among the most illustrious as well as earliest of the sacred Latin poets, yet we need scarcely intimate to the critical and intelligent reader, that not all the hymns called *Ambrosian* are entitled to the honor of the name they bear.

The best analysis of the sacred Latin poetry is, perhaps, that of Dr. Neale, who, in his work on the "Mediæval Hymns," considers them as the productions of three distinct periods in European history. In the first of these periods, the Church was unshackling herself from the fetters of the classical metre; in the second, she was bringing out all the capabilities of rhyme; and in the third, after the revival of letters, she sought to subject her poetry anew to the slavish bondage of a revived paganism. By a still wider generalization, they might, perhaps, be reduced under two several heads, as determined by the character of their poetical treatment, the earlier hymns being uniformly *objective* in their composition and texture, while those of a later date breathe a constantly increasing *subjective* spirit. How wide is the interval, for instance, which, in this respect, marks the difference between the poetical genius of Ambrose in the fourth century, and of St. Bernard, "the mellifluous doctor," of the twelfth! A single example, in illustration, selected from the versifica-

tion of each, will suffice not only to disclose the distinctive traits of their respective authors, but to present for the reader's admiration two hymns of remarkable interest and beauty in the regard of every student of hymnology : —

HYMNUS DE ADVENTU DOMINI.

BY ST. AMBROSE.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>“Veni Redemptor gentium,
Ostende partum virginis,
Miretur omne saeculum :
Talis decet partus Deum.</p> <p>“Non ex virili semine,
Sed mystico spiramine
Verbum Dei factum est caro,
Fructusque ventris floruit.</p> <p>“Alvus tumescit virginis,
Claustra pudoris permanent,
Vexilla virtutum micant,
Versatur in templo Deus.</p> <p>“Procedit e thalamo suo,
Pudoris aula regia,</p> | <p>Geminae gigas substantiae
Alacris ut currat viam.</p> <p>“Egressus ejus a Patre,
Regressus ejus ad Patrem,
Excursus usque ad inferos,
Recursus ad sedem Dei.</p> <p>“Aequalis aeterno Patri
Carnis tropaeo accingere,
Infirma nostri corporis
Virtute firmana perpetim.</p> <p>“Praesepe jam fulget tuum,
Lumenque nox spirat novum
Quod nulla nox interpolet
Fideque jugi luceat.”</p> |
|--|--|

CURSUS DE AETERNA SAPIENTIA.

BY ST. BERNARD.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(AD MATUTINOS.)</p> <p>“Jesu, dulcis memoria,
Dans vera cordis gaudia,
Sed super mel et omnia
Ejus dulcis praesentia.</p> <p>“Nil canitur suavius,
Auditur nil jucundius,
Nil cogitatur dulcius,
Quam Jesus, Dei filius.</p> <p>“Jesu, spes poenitentibus,
Quam pius es petentibus !
Quam bonus es quaerentibus !
Sed quid invenientibus ?
“Aeterna sapientia
Tibi patrique gloria
Cum spiritu paraclito
Per infinita saecula.</p> | <p>(IN LAUDIBUS.)</p> <p>“Jesu, rex admirabilis
Et triumphator nobilis,
Dulcedo ineffabilis,
Totus desiderabilis.</p> <p>“Nec lingua potest dicere
Nec litera exprimere,
Experto potest credere
Quid sit Jesum diligere.</p> <p>“Amor Jesu cotinuus
Mihī languor assiduus,
Mihī Jesus mellifluus
Fructus vitae perpetuus.
“Aeterna, etc.</p> |
|---|--|

(AD PRIMAM.)

“ Amor Jesu dulcissimus
Et vere suavissimus,
Plus millies gratissimus,
Quam dicere sufficimus.

“ Jesu decus angelicum,
In aure dulce canticum,
In ore mel mirificum,
In corde nectar coelicum.

“ Jesu, mi bone, sentiam
Amoris tui copiam,
Da mihi per poenitentiam
Tuam videre gloriam.
“ Aeterna, etc.

(AD TERTIAM.)

“ Tua, Jesu, dilectio
Grata mentis, affectio
Replens sine fastidio,
Dans famem desiderio.

“ Qui te gustant, esuriunt,
Qui bibunt, adhuc sitiunt,
Desiderare nesciunt
Nisi Jesum, quem diligunt.

“ Desidero te millies,
Mi Jesu, quando venies,
Quando me laetum facies,
Me de te quando saties?
“ Aeterna, etc.”

Or compare the passion hymn of Fortunatus with that of an unknown writer of uncertain date, but who certainly flourished after the fifteenth century : —

“ IN PASSIONE DOMINI.

BY FORTUNATUS.

- “ Pange lingua gloriosi praelium certaminis
Et super crucis tropaeo dic triumphum nobilem
Qualiter redemptor orbis immolatus vicerit.
- “ De parentis protoplasti fraude facta condolens
Quando pomi noxialis morsu morte corrui,
Ipse lignum tunc notavit, damna ligni ut solveret.
- “ Hic opus nostrae salutis ordo depoposcerat,
Multiformis perditoris ars ut artem falleret
Et medelam ferret inde, hostis unde laeserat.
- “ Quando venit ergo sacri plenitudo temporis,
Missus est ab arce patris natus orbis conditor,
Atque ventre virginali carne factus prodiit.
- “ Vagit infans, inter arcta ponitur praesepia,
Membra pannis involuta virgo mater alligat
Et pedes manusque crura stricta cingit fascia.
- “ Lustra sex qui jam peracta tempus implens corporis,
Se volente natus ad hoc, passioni deditus
Agnus in crucis levatur immolandus stipite.

“ Hic acetum, fel, arundo, sputa, clavi, lancea,
Mite corpus perforatur, sanguis unde profluit,
Terra, pontus, astra, mundus quo lavantur flumine.

“ Crux fidelis, inter omnes arbor una nobilis,
Nulla talem silva profert fronde, flore, germine,
Dulce lignum dulces clavos dulce pondus sustinens.

“ Flecte ramos arbor alta, tensa laxa viscera
Et rigor lentescat ille, quem dedit nativitas
Ut superni membra regis miti tendas stipite.

“ Sola digna tu fuisti ferre saeculi pretium
Atque portum praeperare nauta mundo naufrago,
Quam sacer cruor perunxit fusus agni corpore.”

IN PASSIONE DOMINI.

FROM DAN. THES. HYMN., vol. II. p. 359.

“ Salve mundi salutare,
Salve, salve, Jesu care!
Cruci tuae me aptari
Vellem, tibi me aequari,
Da mihi tui copiam.

“ Clavos, pedum plagas duras,
Et tam graves impressuras
Circumplector cum affectu,
Tuo pavens in aspectu,
Tuorum memor vulnerum.

“ Salve Jesu, Rex sanctorum,
Spes votiva peccatorum,
Crucis ligno, tanquam reus,
Pendens homo, verus Deus;
Caducis nutans genibus.

“ Dulcis Jesu, pie Deus!
Ad te clamo, licet reus,
Praebe mihi te benignum,
Ne repellas me indignum
De tuis sanctis pedibus.

“ Quid sum tibi responsurus,
Actu vilis, corde durus?
Quid rependam amatori,
Qui elegit pro me mori,
Ne dupla morte morerer?

“ Dum me mori est necesse,
Noli mihi tunc deesse,
In tremenda mortis hora
Veni Jesu absque mora,
Tuere me, et libera.

“ Salve Jesu, pastor bone,
Fatigatus in agone,
Qui per lignum es distractus,
Et ad lignum es compactus,
Expansis sanctis manibus.

“ Cum me jubes emigrare,
Jesu care, tunc appare,
O amator amplectende,
Temet ipsum tunc ostende,
In cruce salutifera.”

In the later of these hymns, as compared with the earlier, the reader cannot fail to remark the advancing traces of that intensely subjective spirit which informs the poetry of the moderns, in contrast with that objective representation which

distinguishes the poetic art of the ancients. If the poetry of the earlier Christian age still partook of the spirit of the declining classicism, it is equally apparent that that of the succeeding period was more and more assimilating itself to the forthcoming romanticism. That this process was checked for a time by a servile imitation of the classical models, as practised during the revival of learning in Europe, has been already intimated. In those days of Ciceronian idolatry when Bembo, the secretary of Leo X., was a greater purist than Pollio had been in the days of Augustus; when the Holy Ghost was Latinized into “*aura Zephyri cœlestis Afflatus*”; when the Virgin Mary smiled to hear herself called “*Deam ipsam*”; and when, because Cicero was a polytheist, the papal secretary held it polite to speak of his master only as one who trusted in the immortal gods, “*diis immortalibus fidit, quorum vicem gērit in terris*,” — it is not surprising to find that the Latin hymnology shared in the general infection, and that, in the place of the grand old barbarian doxology, it was sought to substitute a classical refrain in alcaics and sapphics of more irreproachable modulation. As a specimen of such doxological verses, the following will suffice : —

“ Unum est divum sacer Imperator,
Triplícis formæ, facie sub una,
Qui polum, terras tumidosque fluctus
Temperet alti.”

During the pontificate of Clement VII., one Zachary Ferreri was commissioned by his Holiness to remodel the hymns of the Church, and to reduce them to the metrical forms of the classical prosody.* His work, when completed, according to order, in 1523, received the sanction of Clement, but, fortunately, failed to find favor with either priests or people. Even Dr. Mone, who is so zealous a defender of everything that has the odor of “*Catholicity*” about it, is constrained to

* His motive for undertaking the task is thus stated in the Preface of his volume : “*Ad obeundum quoque id laboris me summopere animavit et impulit, quod qui bona latinitate præditi sunt sacerdotes, dum barbaris vocibus Deum laudare coguntur, in risum provocati, sacra sæpenumero contemnunt.*” — Quoted by Daniel, *Thes. Hymn.*, Vol. IV. p. 293.

condemn this unwarrantable tampering with the genuine forms of the old barbaric hymns. Alluding to this subject, he says :—

“It was a want in historical judgment to overleap the Christian mediæval time and its development, or to attempt a reconstruction of its hymns according to heathen models which no longer could serve as standards in the Middle Ages. Such attempts, however, were made in the sixteenth century by Fabricius, and still more by Ellinger ; in the seventeenth and eighteenth, by Guyet upon the French, and Areval upon the Spanish hymns, the latter being urged thereto by Strada, Galluci, and Petrucci, who regulated according to classical metre all the ecclesiastical hymns of the Romish Breviary, — a task to which they had been appointed by Pope Urban VIII. Their labor had a liturgical object, and is therefore to be regarded as an independent work ; but collectors merely, like Fabricius, Ellinger, Guyet, and Areval, went too far, because they forsook the historical stand-point, and gave their own reconstructions instead of the ancient texts, for which they had no commission. Had they remained true to the principles of the Church Fathers with respect to the relations between the heathen literature and the Christian, they would have avoided any such aberration, and have better preserved the Christian propriety. This latter must be honored as well by the critic as by the poet, on account of its historical bearings. The classical scholars of the sixteenth century who were composers of hymns, such as Erasmus, Muretus, and others, fell into the mistake of mingling in their expressions the representations of heathenism with those of Christianity, although they gave to the former a Christian signification ; and this evil influence of an exaggerated classicism manifests itself even in the French sacred poets of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as in the brothers Santeul, Le Tourneux, Habert, Du Plessis de Geste, Le Brun Desmarettes, Coffin, and others. Such sacred songs, like the classically amended hymns of older date, present a variegated medley, which is inconsistent with the Christian economy because an interpolation upon it.”

As intimately connected with this branch of our subject, the “musical word-building” of the mediæval Latin, as exemplified in the hymns of the Western Church, might very properly engage our attention ; but, lest such a critical review should be found to involve discussions too scholastic, we pass at once from a single specimen of such poetical Latinity to a consideration of the more æsthetical phases of the Roman hymnology :—

"Ave virgo generosa,
 Stirps venusta, regiosa,
 Miseratrix uberosa,
 Consolatrix gloriosa,
 Indagatrix siderosa,
 Suffragatrix non morosa,
 Et beatrix jubilosa,

Glossa legis pretiosa,
 Toti mundo nominosa.
 Ave rosa vigilosa,
 Mitis, pia et formosa,
 Caritate viscerosa,
 Claritate radiosa,
 Sanctitate vaporosa," etc.

The sacred Latin hymns present themselves to our consideration in two distinct aspects, according to the stand-points from which they are viewed. The author of the *Gesänge Christlicher Vorzeit* sees in them the outbursts of a holy enthusiasm, the effervescence of that new leaven which, permeating the masses of heathendom, found its natural outlet in these bursts of lyrical emotion. To Fortlage these spiritual songs are more significant of what was vitally operative in the primitive ages of Christianity than are all the tomes of all the Fathers. He marks in them the mighty heart-throbs of that new principle of life which the Messiah had breathed into humanity, and by which the fountains of the great deep in the worlds of thought and feeling were broken up. But we will translate from his own glowing pages the following observations, in which he intimates his appreciation of the genius and quality of the early sacred Latin verse:—

"The fire of Revelation, in its strong and simple energy, by which, as it were, it rends the rock and bursts the icy barriers of the human heart, predominates in those oldest pieces of the sacred Latin poesy which are comprised in the Ambrosian hymnology, a species of song which moves in the simplest tones, and seldom uses rhyme. Its chief characteristic is the absence of ornament. Even through thorns and brambles it oftentimes takes its way; but beneath the rugged covering of the words there often glows a fiery energy, the power of that Word which interpenetrates the universe. This can well be called the primal song of Christendom, the song of its moral force; for by it Christianity begot in the soul of her confessors a stoicism that overcame the world, and which, by its untiring persistence, at last won victory for the cross. The fire of enthusiasm and sentiment, which in the old Roman song never came to an immediate outburst, gleamed brightly up, however, in Spain, especially in the poesy of Prudentius. If the severe simplicity of the Ambrosian hymns reminds us of the Mosaic mandate to sacrifice to God on altars of unhewn stone, we observe, on the con-

trary, in Prudentius, a bursting forth anew of the old flaming psalmody, blazing in many-colored lights, like the variegated hues transmitted through some stained-glass window. As we listen, the soul welters in deep and strong emotion. From this has arisen whatever of most sublime, magnificent, and fair the sacred poetry of Christendom has brought to light. In it the organ-pipes which thunder through heaven and earth seem in full play, as, with shudders of inner unworthiness, with cries and melting tears, with jubilant shouts over the goodness of God, and plaints and sighs over Adam's fall, and with triumphant strains that praise the great redemption, they thrill through the universe. It is thus that the heights of a freer and more ecstatic melody were reached, in opposition to the more measured and subdued notes of elder Rome, just as in the profane poetry of the South the many-colored lights of Calderon differ from the more sombre severity of Dante and the exquisitely compounded hues of Tasso.

"Under Fortunatus, this fuller strain of song proceeds to Italy, in the shuddering notes of his 'Vexilla Regis' and 'Pange Lingua,' and there unites, as at a later day in France, with the rich veins of song opened by Peter Damiani, Thomas Aquinas, Adam of St. Victor, Bernard, and Bonaventura, until at last it reached its highest summits in the terrors of the flaming 'Dies Irae,' and the pathos of the tearful 'Stabat Mater.' But that which spans the distance between them both, and in which consists the depth of the Christian poetry, is the element of a deep remorse, in which the wood of the cross appears, like to a wonder-working tree, as the central mystery of Christianity."

Dr. Mone, on the other hand, is chiefly pleased to contemplate in these sacred songs their historical and doctrinal significance as poetical fragments of the early Church literature, and, by collating them with the prose productions of the Fathers, seeks to show that they had their origin in, and stand in unbroken connection with, the patristic theology. He protests against the disposition of some to regard them mainly as the "outgushings of pious emotion," which, he fears, is to discrown them of their highest glory, and to convert them into mere poetical *morceaux*, reflecting the individual feeling of their writers rather than the universal consciousness of the Church. To this effect he says :—

"Since Herder and Rambach, it has been the custom to regard these hymns not in this connection [i. e. with the prose Church literature], but to appreciate them chiefly as the outgushings of pious emotion,

which cannot fail of their impression on the tender heart. From this merely æsthetical point of observation, it is impossible to apprehend many of the allusions in these songs, and, like Rambach, we must reject, as the wild outgrowth of the fancy, much that, if more thoroughly comprehended, would present itself to us in a different guise. That to which these songs were meant to appeal was and is devotion, not poetical feeling and æsthetical sympathies; if we appreciate them according to the latter, we may easily overlook the very foundations of their thought, which surely is the main consideration. The doctrines of faith and the Biblical history were not meant to be perverted by arbitrary poetical experiments; substance is not to be sacrificed to form. It is only when we stand upon the doctrinal foundation of the Church, that we can see how all religious feelings plant in it their root, and are to be tried and explained by the standards erected upon it; apart from this, all such religious feelings are mere individual utterances, whose pious significance is fixed and regulated by no unchanging criterion. Such a sensibility leads to evil consequences, for it degenerates into personal views and reveries which are at the farthest remove from the genuine feeling of Christian devotion."

The appreciation of each party, of Fortlage on the one hand and of Mone on the other, seems to us equally just and proper, but neither should be pushed to the exclusion of the other. The æsthetical genius of these ancient hymns forms as legitimate a subject of inquiry and observation, as their doctrinal relations to the dogmatic history and prose literature of the Church. If it cannot be denied that the sacred Latin poetry is eminently ecclesiastical, ascetic, and monastic in its subject-matter, or if it "swarms," as Mr. Trench truly says, with allusions to the mediæval tropology of the Scriptures and the writings of the Fathers, just as little can it be denied that these spiritual songs receive color and complexion from the individual mind of the writer, and partake of that popular inspiration which caused Bossuet to remark that "poetry came by enthusiasm only among the Hebrews and Christians." If, as is sometimes the case, St. Ambrose versifies a fragment of one of his sermons, or if Gregory the Great, as in his

"Clarum decus jejunii,"

reproduces in verse a part of his homily on fasting, it is neces-

sary to admit that such hymns stand in close connection with the Christian dogma of the day in which they appeared ; but is it the less true that the verse of Ambrose, in its pith and sententiousness, partakes of his mental habitudes ? Or more than in all his prose, do we not discern in it “ a fire burning inwardly, the glow of an austere enthusiasm ” ?

Dr. Mone, in the Preface to his first volume, objects also to Dr. Daniel, that he has inverted the order of nature and reason in his comments on the sacred Latin poetry of the Middle Ages. We translate a few paragraphs in which he explains and enforces his views on this subject : —

“ Daniel has preferred to avail himself of the modern literature in his explanation and appreciation of these hymns, and this he has done for the special purpose of showing that, at the present day, they are honored and deserve to be honored, even by those of another faith. The object is an honorable one, and we could wish that its laudable end might be attained, but such a labor must leave great chasms in the scientific treatment of the subject ; for it is manifestly more necessary to indicate the relations of the hymns to the old Church literature, since this latter stands in the closest conjunction with the Scriptures and their ecclesiastical apprehension, and hence affords a much more reliable standard by which to judge these hymns than is found in the modern literature, whose subjective ideas and conceptions so frequently lie without the circle of the old Christian modes of expression, and are, indeed, in opposition to them. By pursuing such a course, it is hardly possible to avoid mistaken explanations and crooked judgments ; hence it is preferable, we may say indispensable, for the proper understanding of these hymns, to have chief recourse to the old ecclesiastical writers.

“ This can be done in two ways : (1.) by collecting, for the illustration of each hymn, the parallel passages and references culled from the Greek and Latin Fathers and other Christian writers ; and (2.) by a comparison of the Latin Church hymns with the Grecian. As the Fathers and other eminent writers had a great influence on the literature of the Church, so it cannot fail that hymnology also should have its points of contact with them, a reference to which must largely contribute to a right understanding of the hymns themselves. The comparison of the Greek Church hymns with the Latin shows not only the close affinity of their respective psalmodes, whether by interchange or appropriation, but also the harmony of their substance down to the schism of the Greek Church, and even later than that period. For

purposes of illustration, I have therefore collated many passages from the old ecclesiastical literature and the Greek hymnology, because this has heretofore been almost wholly neglected, Daniel, for example, having only once adduced the *Menäen*,* without making any use of these copious sources.

“A comparison of the Latin hymns with the old Church literature guards against many mistakes in criticism, explanation, and translation, especially such as are found in certain late writers, who have made it apparent that a knowledge of the Latin language, as taught in the schools, does not suffice for the comprehension of these hymns, but that the significance of their words depends at once upon the doctrines of the faith and upon the traditionary *usus loquendi* of the times. This dogmatical and historical foundation of the ecclesiastical speech must be taken into account, for it had its origin in the necessity of things, since the heathen tongues did not possess all needful expressions for the revelation of Christianity, but had first to form them out of Christianity according to the linguistic laws which characterize those tongues.”

The number and appositeness of the parallel passages cited by Dr. Mone from the Fathers of the Church to illustrate the text of the Latin hymns, compose the most valuable feature of his volumes. Besides giving us an unrivalled collection of sacred Latin verse, he has presented us with an anthology from the patristic prose. Yet without seeking to detract aught from his merits as the most learned of modern hymnologists, we may venture to affirm that, if a comparison of these hymns with those of the Greeks, and with the prose literature of the ancient Church, is indispensable to the illustration and comprehension of the former, it is no less true that the aspect in which they are more particularly regarded by Dr. Daniel has points of view equally important, and to us quite as interesting as those opened from the stand-point taken by Dr.

* It may not be superfluous to state, for the information of general readers, that the *Menäen* (*μηναία*, scil. *βιβλία*) are, in respect of their names, *month-books*, — in their contents, *hymn-books* for the daily divine service of every month in the Greek Church. The songs and the readings are arranged according to the days of the month, the text being purely in Greek, always from the press of Venice, where the printing of the Greek church-books has long been, and still is, executed, and from which city the trade in them is carried on with the Orient. Each “month-book” bears a distinct title, and is printed separately, as, for instance, *Βιβλίον τοῦ Ἰαννουαρίου μηνός*, or sometimes simply *Μῆν Φευρονάριος*. See Mone, Vol. II. p. x. of Preface.

Mone. Cicero was accustomed, with the fervor of an Athenian academic, to point to Athens, the "eye of Greece," as to the *integri fontes* of all that was fairest and best in Roman culture and literature. And Dr. Daniel, in his comments on the hymns of the old Latin Church, has sought to show that in them we must look for the originals of many a strain and stave still sounding in the churches of modern Christendom, Protestant as well as Roman Catholic. Especially does he show how greatly the German hymn-book has been enriched by importations from the sacred Latin verse. Reference is also frequently made to versions in the French, Danish, and other languages of Southern and Northern Europe.

Stephenson, in his "Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church," has preserved for us some of the canticles which were sung and chanted by our English forefathers; and though the hymnology of the English language is very far from containing so many additions to its contents from the Latin as are found in the tongues of the Continent, yet is the sacred poetry of the Middle Ages an appreciable element even in the liturgy and worship of English Protestantism. In the churches of our own country and time may be heard snatches and echoes of that antique poesy which was first intoned in the New World by the Jesuit missionaries and Romish ecclesiastics who planted the cedar column and the cedar cross along the shores of the Great Lakes and the waters of the West, chanting the while, amidst the painted savages who stood around in their robes of beaver and buffalo, the sonorous passion-hymn of Fortunatus,

"Vexilla regis prodeunt."

Among the *retenta* of the sacred Latin verse may be instanced that most familiar passage from the burial service of the Episcopal Church, "In the midst of life we are in death." Robert Hall once searched for this in the Bible, as a text from which he purposed to preach a sermon. Had he been versed in the mediæval hymnology, he would have been able to find it in an old *Antiphonarium* of the ninth or tenth century, composed by St. Notker, the "stammering" monk of St. Gall. The entire antiphone runs as follows: —

“ Media vita In morte sumus ; Quem quaerimus adiutorem Nisi Te, Domine, Qui pro peccatis Nostris juste irasceris !	Sancte Deus, Sancte fortis, Sancte et misericors Salvator, Amarae Morti ne trades nos.”
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This Latin chant inspired the German hymn,

“ Mittem wir im Leben sind von dem Tod umfängen,”

which, as is known, Luther enlarged by the addition of two stanzas. From Germany it passed into England, and has found a permanent lodgement in the Liturgy of the English Established Church and of its daughter in America.

The hymn “ *Veni Creator Spiritus*,” attributed by tradition to Charlemagne, but with greater probability, both from external and internal evidence, ascribed by Dr. Mone to Gregory the Great, with whose style and versification it certainly accords, is still retained among the hymns in the Book of Common Prayer, where it has a place in the offices for the ordering of priests and the consecration of bishops, being in truth the only one thus transferred from the Romish Breviary by the compilers of the Prayer-Book.

That favorite hymn, “ *Jerusalem, my happy home*,” derived its first inspiration from the “ *Urbs beata Hierusalem*,” but has, in the lapse of time and its passage through different hands, undergone so many variations, (which, we may add, have been made the subject of a monograph by a Scottish student of Christian poetry,) that scarcely a vestige remains of its original form.

But the German is without doubt the richest of modern tongues in the treasures of sacred verse, and how largely it is indebted to the poetry of the Latin Church we need not pause to demonstrate, since the evidences of the fact meet us on every hand as we open the German hymn-book.* Luther himself enriched with many such importations the psalmody of the noble language, which, by his translation of the Scrip-

* See especially Wackernagel, “ *Das Deutsche Kirchenlied von Martin Luther bis auf Nicolaus Herman und Ambrosius Blaurer*.”

tures, he may be said to have at once fixed and refined. The hymn of St. Gregory the Great on our Lord's passion, commencing "Rex Christe, factor omnium," is pronounced by Luther, in his Table-Talk, the "very best" of the Latin Church,—a praise, however, which, as a German hymnologist remarks, must be attributed rather to the theological merits than the poetical excellences of that sacred lyric. Among the many examples of German hymns translated by Luther from the Latin, the best known are, perhaps,

"Nun komm der Heiden Heiland,"

from the

"Veni Redemptor gentium"

of Ambrose, and the

"Christ der du bist Tag und Licht,"

from the

"Christe, qui lux es et dies."

To these we may add such reproductions by other hands as those in which the "Urbs beata" repeats its "vision of peace":—

"Jerusalem, du hochgebaute Stadt"; —

or, still otherwise,

"Stadt Gottes, deren diamanten Ring"; —

or as when the "Ecce homo" of sacred Latin verse, the passion hymn of St. Bernard,

"Salve caput cruentatum,"

haunts us again in Paul Gerhard's touching version:—

"O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden,
Voll Schmerz und voller Hohn."

Traces like these, which mark the veins of sacred Latin song that run through the poetry of modern Christendom, are quite sufficient, we think, to justify the place which Dr. Daniel gives to them in his "Thesaurus." The field which he chose to occupy certainly adjoins upon the wide domain of the mediæval hymnology, and if he preferred to be an admirer rather than an interpreter of the sacred Latin poetry,

he is not for this reason amenable to the carping censure by which Dr. Mone so frequently disparages his labors. Nor is it true, that, while giving attention to the relations of the sacred Latin hymns to the modern poetry of the Church, he has wholly neglected the literary history of their genesis and authorship. But it is true that, in this latter branch of inquiry, he is not always able to see so clearly as Dr. Mone, that the mediæval hymnology "plants its roots" in the apostolic faith, or even in the patristic theology of the early Christian ages; and we are not without our suspicions that the religious, rather than literary, heresies of which Dr. Mone must think him guilty because of the judgments he sometimes pronounces on the poet-monks of the Middle Age, afford the most natural explanation of that *odium theologicum* with which the Catholic hymnologist pursues his Protestant predecessor in this field of labor.

Dr. Daniel sometimes ventures to intimate that the sacred Latin poetry often runs parallel with something other than the "Bible and its apprehension by the early Church Fathers," to wit, with the legendary lore and "Christian mythology" which fill so large a space in the "civilization" of the Middle Age. And he would be an adventurous tamperer with the truth of history, as well as a purblind critic in mediæval literature, who should deny the fact that the "sacred Latin hymns" do often hold as in crystal the concretions which from age to age were gradually obscuring the purity and corrupting the simplicity of the primitive faith. As much that passed for metaphor or rhetoric with the Christians of the early ages came to be transmuted into dogmatic theology among their successors, so also many a Christian myth, which at first began in monastic legend and floated in pious song, was gradually interpolated into the body of Christian doctrine, and became a part of that ever-increasing heritage transmitted from generation to generation by the monastic orders (or "religions" as they were called) of the Dark Ages in European history. Each "religion" had its peculiar circle of traditions and its favorite hymns. The Jesuits were not the first and only order in the Catholic Church who, as the French wit charged, were men that lengthened the creed and

abridged the commandments. The process of agglutination commenced centuries before the day of Loyola, and found, perhaps, its most remarkable illustration in that growing veneration for the person of the Virgin Mary, which, after having been fostered and nourished throughout successive centuries by tradition and song, has but recently received the dogmatic sanction of Pope and Cardinals in grand ecclesiastical conclave. The number of the Latin hymns addressed to Mary, filling as they do in the collection of Mone a volume equal in bulk and contents to that which contains those addressed to "God and Angels" together, would seem to demand a special consideration, as being the most fruitful branch of the sacred Latin poetry; for if it be uncharitable to assert that the Blessed Virgin occupies the first and highest place in the Romish religion, it would seem to be no sin against candor to declare, if we may judge from the labors of Dr. Mone, that she occupies that pre-eminence in the Romish hymnology.

Protestant scholars and theologians have adduced many theories in explanation of the rise and prevalence of that "Mariolatry" which finds its poetical expression in the "Songs to Mary," and of which Dr. Mone presents us more than three hundred examples. The veneration of the Virgin, if we may not say her worship as divine, commenced at an early age in the Church, and seems to have found its incentives in that ascetic spirit which became so predominant in the third and fourth centuries, the history of which, in a popular form, has been presented in a well-known work by Isaac Taylor. The recluse "religions" of the Eastern Church venerated in Mary the ideal of "virginity," which, at that period in the development of Christianity, was exalted into the coronal of all the Christian graces. Others, again, adored in Mary θεοτόκος the mystery of a holy maternity, and worshipped her as the truly and purely human "mediatrix," (we do but assign to her one of the titles she receives in the Latin and Grecian hymns,) who had brought Deity into fellowship and reconciliation with Humanity. This latter feeling was doubtless intensified in the "fleshly minds" of the Orient by the dogmatic controversies of the time, and especially by the decision of the Council of Nice, declaring the coessentiality

of Christ with the Father, a decision which, (as Bishop Bull himself might admit without any disloyalty to the Nicene faith which he defended,) by concentrating the Christian consciousness on the abstract question of the Messiah's divinity, tended by the "brightness of its glory" to throw into shade the correlative doctrine of his perfect humanity. To the sensuous fancy Mary thus became, as it were, the substituted type of "the great mystery of godliness," the incarnation, and the immaculate "Mother of God" was installed in the mediatorial throne of her Divine Son. The poets feign that Isis, when she recovered the dissevered members of Osiris, erected in his honor as many imitative statues of wax as there were mangled pieces of his body; and so it would seem that even the worshippers of the incarnate Truth, when no longer holding him as their Head, have ever been prone to erect a false image in his stead, and to mar the beauty and symmetry of Christian doctrine by substituting the distortions of sect and party for the unity of the faith as held in the bonds of peace.

From the time when the Collyridians, or priestesses of Mary, in Arabia, as early as the fourth and fifth centuries, held high carnival in honor of the Virgin, to the day when mediæval chivalry boasted its noblest champions in the Knights of St. Mary, we can trace a sensuous instinct mingling with all the honors paid to the "Holy Mother," and hence we need not be surprised to find that Cyprus, under the rule of Templar and Hospitaller, each swearing by the Virgin, was hardly less faithful to the worship of Venus than in the day when that goddess

"Far-fleeted by the purple island-sides,
Naked, a double light in air and wave,
To meet her Graces when they decked her out
For worship without end."

If it be admitted that such in any degree was the corrupted sentiment which may have originally prepared the way for the worship of Mary, we might expect to find the traces of its presence in the hymns which bear her name and celebrate her praises. Accordingly, it is not too much to say, that many of the hymns addressed to the Blessed Virgin would seem to find their more appropriate place in an appendix to the

heathen erotic poets of the Latin language, than in a *The-saurus Hymnologicus* of the Church. Dr. Mone, we are aware, takes exception to the criticisms of Dr. Daniel on this delicate subject, and adduces, in reversal of the sentence pronounced on this point by the latter, the apostolical precept, that "to the pure all things are pure"; but after all due allowances are made by that charity which "thinketh no evil," it still remains an incontestable fact, that certain of the songs in honor of Mary must in all candor be pronounced rather anacreontic than devotional. There is in not a few of them an evident toying with conceits which betray a prurient imagination instead of a pious sensibility. The mystical imagery of the Song of Songs being regarded by the tropologists of the Middle Age as especially applicable to Mary, it is easy to conceive the use which might be made of it by a monkish poet, who brings to its poetical interpretation a spirit like that of a Beroaldus in his commentaries on the classics. In a "hymn" cited by Sir Alexander Croke, the Virgin is actually represented as an object of carnal affection to the Holy Ghost. Our readers, we are sure, will excuse us if we dismiss this branch of our subject without adducing any examples in illustration of a poetical sacrilege which approaches the altar of the heavenly Muse with strange and unhallowed fire.

Dr. Mone, we scarcely need say, discards the ascription of any other origin to the veneration of Mary than that which "plants its roots" in the old Church literature and its exegesis of the Scriptures. On this point his argument is as follows:—

"The Old Testament is the necessary foundation of Christianity, for it contains the historical evidence that God even at the creation of man had foreordained his redemption. Accordingly, man's redemption was no accidental event, but the consequence of an eternal counsel. Of this connection of the two Testaments, the Old and the New, not only are the Jews shown to have been convinced by their expectation of the Messiah, but Christ and the Apostles have expressly declared it, and hence Christianity recognized the Old Testament as the prophecy, the New as the fulfilment of human redemption, and erected on this ground the Biblical Tropology or Typology, that is, the science which compares the prophetic passages and historical types of the Old Testament with the life of Christ and his Church, and thus opposes to the shadow of the olden time the substance of the new. Opinions may be

various respecting the correctness or admissibility of particular references and comparisons, but this will not justify us in contesting or discarding the whole Tropology, since it cannot be denied that it has a foundation in Christianity, and least of all can it be overlooked by the historical inquirer, who without it will find himself unable to comprehend the theological writings of the earlier times.

“As the incarnation of Christ was foretold by the prophets, *so must also his mother have been included in their thought, and hence the Biblical Tropology extends to Mary*, and consists of allusions to her both direct and indirect; namely, such as are derived from passages in the Old Testament expressly referring to Mary,* and such applications and figures as can be brought into relation or comparison with her. From this Tropology have arisen the manifold epithets of Mary which are met with in songs, prayers, and other compositions, and which rest altogether upon a Biblical foundation, apart from which they can neither be properly explained nor understood. Within this distinctly marked circle of thought the veneration of Mary has a self-subsistence and a peculiarity which cannot be derived from extrinsic influences, but which must be referred for their sources to this discovered interdependence of the two Testaments.”

The reasoning of Dr. Mone will be seen at once by the critical reader to be based on an inversion or confusion of ideas. For the fact of Mary's prefiguration in the ancient prophets surely confers upon her no peculiar sanctity, since this is a distinction which she shares in common with the betrayer and the murderers of the Messiah. And how the Biblical Tropology, whether real or fanciful, founded on her motherhood, should be held to invest her with a right to veneration, must pass the comprehension of ordinary minds. Indeed, this tropology may more truly be regarded as the effect than as the cause or justification of such a homage, and therefore finds its proper position when used historically and æsthetically to explain the origin and subject-matter of the hymns which give expression to the worship of the Virgin, but must for ever be regarded as wholly out of place in any attempted vindication of the grounds on which that worship may be logically defended from the Scriptures. How large a part the Biblical Typology plays in the composition and

* As Gen. iii. 15 ; Isa. vii. 14 ; xi. 1 ; xxxv. 1, 2 ; lxvi. 7 ; Jer. xxxi. 22, &c.

texture of the hymns to Mary, we need not pause to demonstrate. A single specimen will suffice for this purpose better than any critical statement.

“AD MARIAM.

“Ave decus virgineum,
Ave jubar aethereum,
Nobis praesens sollemnitas
Assit perpes jucunditas,
Tua namque conceptio
Summis est gratulatio.

“Gaude, fidelis concio,
Adest ejus conceptio,
Quae delet Evae maculam,
Vitae redonat infulam.

“Cui Eva obedivit
Haec serpentis caput trivit,
Jugum spernens nuptiarum
Deo vovit coelibatum.

“A prophetis praecinitur
Et figuris ostenditur
Quod mulier procederet
Quae Deum virgo pareret.

“Namque rubus incombustus
Moysen qui terruit
Haec est virgo, quae pudore
Salvo Deum genuit.

“Virga Aaron fructifera
Mariae typum gesserat,
Quae nobis fructum attulit,
Famem qui nostram depulit.

“Esaïas ille divus,
Secretorum Dei rivus,
Virgae movens mentionem
Pangit hance conceptionem.

“Voce prophetiae
Signatur origo Mariae.

“Gloria patri,” etc.

Hymns like these, we repeat, may be fairly held to illustrate the Biblical Tropology, and are themselves illustrated by it; but the simple fact of her typical adumbration in the prophetical Scriptures can be scarcely deemed a sufficient warrant for the divine honors rendered to the Virgin Mary.

All the hymns relating to Mary's miraculous conception must be referred to a later origin than the middle of the twelfth century, and thus attest by their very date the comparative novelty of the veneration paid to her in commemoration of that event. And the reader of Dr. Mone's collection can hardly fail to remark the significant fact, that the citations from the “Fathers” contained in the volume devoted to hymns in honor of the Virgin are almost wholly derived from writers of the twelfth century and later, St. Bernard, we believe, furnishing the great bulk of the *pièces justificatives* culled from ecclesiastical prose to show that the poetry of

the Western Church is in harmony with the Catholic faith; whereas in the volume of "Hymns to God and Angels" the chief authorities to which he resorts are such worthies as Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose, Gregory the Great, and others, their coevals if not their compeers.

The dogma of the Immaculate Conception, canonized by the festival created in its honor during the twelfth century, began about this time to find a poetical expression in snatches of song like these:—

"Si quidquid de crimine Arguatur in virgine, Caro Christi esset rea Quam assumpserat ex ea."	"Salve Deo consecrata, Ante huic mundo nata, Intra matris uterum; Dono fixa speciali, Ut nec lapsu veniali Peccares in posterum." *
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How completely the legendary and the mythical elements mingled at this period with the "Scriptural Tropology" to lengthen the creed of the Church, as before remarked, and to enlarge the cycle of hymns to Mary, may be inferred from the poetical deposits retained in the following *Ad Completorium Hymnus*, in which the fiction of Mary's assumption and of the supernatural transmigration of her grave-clothes is celebrated as a verity equally authentic with the second coming of Christ on the morning of the resurrection:—

"DE CONCEPTIONE B. MARIAE VIRGINIS.

"Reginae coeli e domo delatum Josaphat corpus, nihil reperitur In loco, in quo mannaque de coelo Ibidem esse.†	"Credimus pie sanctorum cum choris Jesum venisse Deo jubilantes, Animam corpus simul sociantes In summo coelo.
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* The prose citation corroborative of this poetical effusion is derived by Dr. Mone from that Coryphæus of the Marian theology, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, and is as follows:—"Fuit procul dubio mater Domini ante sancta quam nata. — Ego puto quod et copiosior sanctificationis benedictio in eam descenderit, quae ipsius non solum sanctificaret ortum, sed et vitam ab omni deinceps peccato custodiret immunem; quod nemini alteri in natis quidem mulierum creditur esse." S. Bern. Epp. 184. 5. This, like all the other passages quoted from St. Bernard, is intended to ascribe to Mary a sanctification like that of Jeremiah and of John the Baptist, and gives no countenance to the "new dogma" of the "Immaculate Conception."

† As the text of this stanza is corrupt, and at best presents a difficult reading, we append the comment made upon it by Dr. Mone:—"Verses 1-4 relate to the legend of Mary's burial, namely, that nothing more of her was found in the grave

“Trinitas sancta suscipiens matrem
Sertis coronat ter denis centenis ;
Gaudium semper, jubilus in aevum
Sit tibi mater.

“Gloria patri,” etc.

Candor, however, requires the admission, that many among the tenderest and most precious of the Latin hymns are those addressed to Mary, of which we may say that they seem to derive their inspiration from the very well-head of Christian feeling. To this class belongs that wide circle of hymns which find their central attraction in the “Stabat Mater.” In these the person and the heart of the Holy Mother are taken, if we may so express ourselves, as the stand-points of the Christian poet, who seeks to interpenetrate his soul with a profounder sense of the Saviour’s humiliation and agony on the cross, by appropriating subjectively the speechless grief of the Virgin doomed to behold the spectacle of his sufferings.* And regarded in the light of provocatives to pious emotion and holy ecstasy, such hymns explain to us the secret of their wonderful popularity in the later mediæval period,—a period when, as Sir James Stephen truly remarks, “the ideal of human existence, the very poetry of life, consisted in meek suffering, in patient endurance, in pouring oil into the bleeding wounds of a groaning world, and in escaping from its prevalent bondage and oppression, its cruelty and lust, into communion with more than female tenderness and more than angelic purity.” Traces of the subjective spirit we have thus designated pervade the whole of the “Stabat Mater,” and give to it that pathos and depth of feeling which render it difficult to be read without opening “the sacred, sympathetic source of tears.” And in an earlier hymn, which may be regarded, in truth, as a foreshadowing of that touching *prosa*, we find stanzas like these addressed to the Virgin :—

than her shroud and pall, which at a later day transported themselves to Constantinople. The burial of Mary has a similarity with that of Moses : no man knows her sepulchre or has seen her remains.”

* In such hymns, as Dr. Fortlage tersely expresses it, the person of Mary is made to serve “als *Resonanzboden* des Gefühls bei der Betrachtung des Leidens Christi.”

“Corporis nati videns plagas, latus, Sanguinis fluxum, derisorum verba, Lacrimas fundens tu subjaces humo, Tu pia mater.	“Me tecum flere plagasque sentire, Genetrix, dona tua prece nati, Lancea, clavis, cruce, spinis pungi, Fac, dulcis mater.”
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Sacred poetry of this impassioned kind was particularly cultivated by the Franciscans, whose order was founded by St. Francis d' Assisi in the beginning of the thirteenth century. If before his day the cross and passion of the Saviour had formed the theme of devotional meditation and of pious song, this elevated and fervid spirit derived from him and the followers whom he gathered into his cloister a new and a mighty impulse. St. Francis himself was reputed to have received, in token of the Divine complacency in his ineffable meditations on the cross and passion, the miraculous impression, on his own body, of the five wounds inflicted in the crucifixion on the hands, feet, and side of the Saviour.* To become a partaker in these *stigmata* of their sainted superior, was the highest aspiration of his followers; and in such a spirit it was that Bonaventura exclaimed, in the closing stanza of his *Laudismus de S. Cruce* :—

“Crucifixe ! fac me fortem,
Ut libenter tuam mortem
Plangam, donec vixero.
Tecum volo vulnerari,
Te libenter amplexari
In cruce desidero.”

The Latin hymns in honor of Mary, by reason of their wide diffusion and popularity throughout Europe in the Middle Ages, were the first to be translated into the nascent modern languages of the Continent. Of such translations we can afford to give, for want of space, but a few examples, among the many at our hands, which we place by the side of Adam de St. Victor's “*Prosa de Beata Virgine*,” and with which we must conclude our present paper, reserving for a future occa-

* Dante alludes in the *Divine Comedy* to the place where this miracle was said to have occurred :—

“Nel crudo sasso tra Tevere et Arno
Da Cristo prese l'ultimo sigillo
Che le sue membra du' anni portarno.” — *Parad.* XI. 106.

sion, if it should be deemed expedient, the fulfilment of our purpose to enter still other walks of this rich old poesy of the Latin Church, and especially to trace the interesting literary history of the two most precious and widely honored of its products. We allude, of course, to the "Dies Iræ" and the "Stabat Mater," each of which, as our readers are aware, has been made the subject of an elaborate and scholarly monograph by a living German divine, F. G. Lisco, of Berlin.

"DE BEATA VIRGINE.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>"Salve mater Salvatoris,
 Vas electum, vas honoris,
 Vas coelestis gratiae;
 Ab aeterno vas provisum,
 Vas insigne, vas excisum
 Manu sapientiae.</p> | <p>"Tu coelestis paradisus,
 Libanusque non incisus
 Vaporans dulcedinem.
 Tu candoris et decoris,
 Tu dulcoris et odoris
 Habens plenitudinem.</p> |
| <p>"Salve verbi sacra parens,
 Flos de spina spina carens,
 Flos spineti gloria;
 Nos spinetum, nos peccati
 Spina sumus cruentati,
 Sed tu spinæ nescia.</p> | <p>"Tu es thronus Salomonis,
 Cui nullus par in thronis
 Arte vel materia;
 Ebur candens castitatis,
 Aurum fulvum caritatis,
 Praesignans mysteria.</p> |
| <p>"Porta clausa, fons hortorum,
 Cella custos unguentorum,
 Cella pigmentaria;
 Cinnamomi calamum,
 Myrrham, thus et balsamum,
 Superans fragrantia.</p> | <p>"Palnam praefers singularem,
 Nec in terris habes parem,
 Nec in coeli curia.
 Laus humani generis,
 Virtutum prae ceteris
 Tenes privilegia.</p> |
| <p>"Salve decus virginum,
 Mediatrix hominum,
 Salutis puerpera;
 Myrtus temperantiae,
 Rosa patientiae,
 Nardus odorifera.</p> | <p>"Sol luna lucidior
 Et luna sideribus,
 Sic Maria dignior
 Creaturis omnibus.</p> |
| <p>"Tu convallis humilis,
 Terra non arabilis,
 Quae Deum parturiit.
 Flos campi, convallium
 Singulare lilium,
 Christus ex te prodiit.</p> | <p>"Sol eclipsim nesciens
 Virginis est castitas,
 Ardor indeficiens
 Immortalis caritas.</p> |
| | <p>"Salve mater pietatis,
 Et totius Trinitatis
 Nobile triclinium,</p> |

Verbi tamen incarnati
Speciale majestati
Praeparans hospitium.

“ O Maria, stella maris,
Dignitate singularis
Super omnes ordinaris
Ordines coelestium.
In superno sita poli
Nos commenda tuae proli,
Ne terrores sive doli
Nos supplantent hostium.

“ In procinctu constituti
Te tuente simus tuti,
Pervicacis et versuti
Tuae cedat vis virtuti,
Dolus providentiae.
Jesu, verbum summi Patris,
Serva servos tuae matris,
Solve reos, salva gratis
Et nos tuae claritatis
Configura gratiae.”

OLD ITALIAN HYMN.

LA SALVE REGINA.

“ Dio te salvi, regina,
E madre universale,
Per cui favor si sale
Al paradiso.

“ Voi siete gioja e riso
Di tutti i consolati,
Di tutti i tribolati
Unica sperne.

“ A voi sospira e geme
Il nostro afflitto core
In un mar di dolore
Ed amarezza.

“ Maria, mar di dolcezza,
I vostr' occhi pietosi,

Materni ed amarosi
A noi volgete.

“ Noi miseri accogliete
Nel vostro santo velo,
E 'l vostro figlio in cielo
A noi mostrate.

“ Gradite ed ascoltate,
Overgine Maria,
Dolce, clementi e pia,
Gli affetti nostri.

“ Voi de' nemici nostri
A noi date vittoria,
Di poi l' eterna gloria,
In paradiso.”

OLD FRENCH HYMN.

CHANT À MARIE.

“ Marie, dame toute belle,
En qui toute grace abonde,
Fille de Dieu, mere et ancelle,
Royne du Ciel, dame du monde,
Tu es le ruisseau dou partit londe
Qui le peche de Adam lava :
Je te salue pure et monde
En disant ave Maria.

“ Dame, donne moy grace l'avoir
De Dieu tresjuste congnoissance,
Et me garde de mal avoir,
Car il est bien en ta puissance ;
Jamais tu ne feis deffaillance
A celui qui mercy te crya :
Je te salue mon esperance,
En disant ave Maria.

“Folie, Jeunesse et Enfance	Quand viendra mon definement
Mont faict pecher tresgrandement,	Secours moy, o virgo pia :
Je te supplye mon ignorance	Je te salue devotement
Ueuilles excuser maintenant ;	En disant ave Maria.”

OLD GERMAN HYMN.

ANTIPHON: SALVE REGINA.

“O Maria, wir dich gruessen,	Deine parmhertzige augen
Künigin der parmhertzichait,	Zu uns wende.
Unser leben, unser hofnung,	
Du seist gruessed unser suessichait.	“Und den hailer Jesum Crist,
	Deines leibs gesegente frucht,
“An dir wir schreien ellende	Uns ercaig zu trost
Kinder Evae in dem iamertal,	Nach dysem ellende.
Zu dir wir seiften chlagunde	
Und bainund in diesem zähertal.	“O du senfte, o du guetige,
	O du suesse iunckfraw,
“Eya darumb seid du pist nun	Müter Maria,
Dye unser versprecherin,	Alleluja.”

ART. V.—*On the Lessons in Proverbs.* By RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH, B. D. New York: Redfield. 1853.

WHEN Chesterfield wrote, in his heartless code of courtesy, that “a gentleman never uses a proverb,” he contributed an emphatic hint towards settling the question, Wherein consists the essence of a proverb? According to his fastidious view of them, proverbs are worn vulgar by being so often in mouths that sip soup from pewter spoons. A proverb is a curt and pithy expression which embodies an admitted truth, and is current among the million. As the *pronoun*, to use a schoolmaster’s definition, is used in place of a noun, to avoid its too frequent repetition, so the *proverb* is a representative phrase resorted to for the purpose of shunning tedious explanation or argument. It offers an apology for jumping at conclusions by a single stride, without the fatigue of picking one’s steps over the difficult highways of logic. Its strength is based on the principle that, as “good wine needs no bush,”